

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 ACDA-07 IO-13 OMB-01 TRSE-00 EB-07 DHA-02
/088 W

-----026891 011734Z /41

R 011600Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY BERLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5133
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 9573-9574
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USBERLIN UNN
USMISSION NATO

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 BERLIN 6404
E.O. 11652: N/A TAGS: PFOR, ECPC, GE SU
SUBJECT: SED TAKES CONCILIATORY POSITION ON EUROCOMMUNISM
1. SUMMARY: THE SED HAS NOT YET JOINED THE SOVIETS AND CZECHS
IN CRITICIZING CARRILLO AND THE EUROCOMMUNISTS. IN
STATEMENTS MADE SINCE THE NOVYE VREMYA ATTACK ON CARRILLO,
POLITBURO MEMBERS HERMANN AXEN AND PAUL VERNER HAVE BOTH
AVOIDED MENTIONING CARRILLO, WHILE TREADING
LIGHTLY WITH THE EUROCOMMUNISM ISSUE AND
ATTACKING THE WEST ON THE ARMS RACE AND HUMAN RIGHTS.
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END SUMMARY.

2. AXEN'S VIEWS ARE EXPRESSED IN AN ARTICLE HONORING
THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY
CONFERENCE. SCHEDULED TO APPEAR IN THE AUGUST
EDITION OF PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM,
THE AXEN PIECE WAS CARRIED IN SHORTENED FORM IN ALL

EASTBERLIN NEWSPAPERS ANDGDR FOREIGN POLICY WEEKLY
HORIZONT ON JUNE 29. AS HEAD OF THE GDR'S ECPC
TEAM, AXEN PLAYED A KEY MEDIATING ROLE IN THE
PREPARATORY PHASE OF THE BERLIN CONFERENCE. HIS
POSITIVE APPRAISAL OF THE CONFERENCE AND OF THE
ROLE OF THE WESTERN EUROPEAN PARTIES
REPRESENTS A CONTINUATION OF THIS ROLE.

3. AXEN LAUDS THE BERLIN CONFERENCE FOR HAVING
LIVED UP TO ITS PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY OF REACHING
AGREEMENT ON A COMMON DOCUMENT. AXEN DESCRIBES
THE DOCUMENT AS OFFERING A LONG-TERM COLLECTIVE
ORIENTATION, BASED UPON COMMON EXPERIENCE AND
RESPONSIBILITIES, AND AN ANALYSIS OF THE EUROPEAN
SITUATION AFTER HELSINKI. HE ALSO PRAISES DEMOCRATIC
CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE PARTIES THAT TOOK THEIR
DIFFERING SITUATIONS INTO ACCOUNT. HE TALKS AROUND
THE FACT THAT THE CONFERENCE DID NOT ARRIVE AT A
COMMON PROGRAM OF ACTION, HOWEVER, IN ASSERTING
MERELY THAT THE CONFERENCE ITSELF REPRESENTED AN
EXAMPLE OF UNIFIED ACTION AND SHOWED THE STRIVING OF
ALL PARTIES TOWARD SUCH UNITY. HE NOTES THAT THE
DIFFERING CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE VARIOUS
PARTIES OPERATE DID NOT HINDER COOPERATION, AND ASSERTS
THAT THIS "STRIVING" TOWARD COMMON ACTION IS STRONGER
THAN ATTEMPTS BY THE ENEMY TO SPLIT THE MOVEMENT.
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4. AXEN PAINTS A PCITURE OF WHAT HE TERMS A " SLOWING
DOWN" OF THE DETENTE PROCESS DURING THE PAST YEAR, AND
ON THIS BASIS CALLS FOR CONTINUATION OF THE SOCIALIST
" PEACE OFFENSIVE" AND INCREASED UNITY OF ACTION WITHIN
THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. AXEN CRITICIZES WESTERN
ARMAMENT, THE STRENGTHENING OF NATO, AND THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE EEC AS A CENTER OF POLITICAL COORDINATION INCREASINGLY
UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE FRG. HE ALSO WARNS AGAINST A
MOUNTING WESTERN CAMPAIGN TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL
AFFAIRS OF THE SOCIALIST STATES AND RAISES THE PROSPECT
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OF WESTEN POLITICAL INTERVENTION AGAINST EVENTUAL
PARTICIPATION OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN GOVERNMENTS IN WESTERN EUROEP.
AXEN EXPRESSES CONCERN THAT REACTIONARIES IN THE WEST
MAY HOPE THEY CAN PRESSURE THE SOCIALIST STATES WITH NEW
WEAPONS AND FORCE AN INCREASED DEFENSE ON THEM TO
CURTAIL THEIR ECONOMIC GROWTH.

5. AGAINSTTHE BACKGROUND OF THESE WARNINGS, AXEN
CONCLUDES THAT ANTI-IMPERIALIST SOLIDARITY MUST BE
ICREASED , AND EACH COMMUNIST PARTY SHOULD BE AWARE OF
ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS.
HE PARTICULARLY WARNS THAT " REAL SOCIALISM"HAS BECOME
THE PRIMARY TARGET OF WESTERN IDEOLOGICAL DIVERSION
AVOIDINGCRITICIMS OF OTHER COMMUNIST PARTIES TO THE
END, AXEN CALLS FOR GRE TAR UNITY OF ACTION WITHIN THE
MOVEMENT AND WITH ALL DOMESTIC FORCES.

6. THE POLITBURO MEMBER RESPONSIBLE FOR SECURITY,
VERNER, IS EVEN TOUGHER WITH THE WEST, PARTICCULARY
ON HUMAN RIGHTS, IN HIS SPEECH DELIVERED JUNE29 AT THE
PRAGUE CONFERNCE ON THE OCTOBER RESOLUTION. LIKE

AXEN HOWEVER HE EMPLOYS A MILD TONE IN DISCUSSING THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, STRESSING THE GDR'S ALLEGIANCE TO THE SOVIET UNION WITHOUT CRITICIZING OTHER PARTIES. VERNER REITERATES GDR SUPPORT FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND REFERS TO THE GDR AS A "COMPARTMENT" IN THE INTERNATIONAL CLASS STRUGGLE. HE NOTES THAT THE ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM CRITICIZE THE GDR FOR ACCEPTING THE GENERALLY APPLICABLE RULES OF SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT, I.E. THE SOVIET MODEL. VERNER DENIES THAT THE GDR'S POSITION SETS LIMITS ON ITS INDEPENDENCE AND KEEPS IT FROM FOLLOWING ITS NATIONAL INTERESTS. INSTEAD, VERNER ARGUES, THE GDR RECOGNIZES THE DIALECTICAL UNITY BETWEEN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ITS NATIONAL INTERESTS AND THE AIMS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CLASS STRUGGLE, AND THUS SEES THE NECESSITY OF ITS CLOSE ALLIANCE WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND WILL REBUFF ALL ATTEMPTS TO WEAKEN THIS ALLIANCE. WHILE THUS TRACING THE GDR'S WELL-KNOWN VIEWS, VERNER ADDS THAT THE GDR DOES NOT REFER TO GENERALLY APPLICABLE LAWS OF SOCIALISM IN AN ATTEMPT TO FORCE ITS POSITION ON ANYONE ELSE. HOWEVER, HE CRITICIZES THE THEORIES OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM PROPOSED BY THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL FOR OVERLOOKING THAT THERE CAN BE NO TRUE DEMOCRACY WITHOUT SOCIALISM.

7. WITHOUT MENTIONING ANY COUNTRY BY NAME, VERNER ATTACKS THOSE WHO PRESENT THEMSELVES AS DEFENDERS OF HUMAN RIGHTS SUPPOSEDLY VIOLATED IN THE SOCIALIST STATES. HE ASSERTS THAT THESE SAME LEADERS NEGLECT THE SITUATION IN CHILE AND ELSEWHERE AND VIOLATE HUMAN RIGHTS IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES. VERNER CLAIMS THAT THIS "PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE" AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER SOCIAL STATES CANNOT CHANGE THE FACT THAT HUMAN RIGHTS CAN ONLY EXIST UNDER SOCIALISM.

8. COMMENT: THE SED HAS APPARENTLY DECIDED NOT TO JOIN IN CRITICIZING CARRILLO AND EUROCOMMUNISM AT THIS TIME AND MAY BE ATTEMPTING TO MAINTAIN THE MEDIATING ROLE IT PLAYED DURING THE BERLIN CONFERENCE. WHILE GDR NEWSPAPERS CARRIED THE TEXT OF THE NOVOYE VREMYA ATTACK ON CARRILLO, THE GDR HAS REFRAINED FROM INDEPENDENT COMMENTARY THUS FAR BEYOND THE MODERATE STATEMENTS BY AXEN AND VERNER.

POLANSKY

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